1: Burrows--53-56 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-7
116, 396, 341, 773 Ifalik

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, GanauliwIr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying

inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilök and Uterang. Wëtreilök was the husband of Seramaliwok, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilök said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilök went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwok came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilök replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle,

until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it

black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wĕtreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wĕtreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wĕtreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wĕtreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly,

the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wā, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called pōpō, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik pōpō is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might

still build a canoe of pōpō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

1: Burrows--65-66 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 773 Ifalik

"The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth [66] but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on that special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky."

1: Burrows--91 (1947-48) Woleaiana
116, 618, 773 Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

1: Burrows--171 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 773 Ifalik

"The same professions of ignorance which stopped my early inquiries were repeated, so far as the creation is concerned, when Spiro investigated this subject later on. 'We do not know how the world began,' they told him, 'but in Yap they know.' While it is possible that they were still concealing something from him, I am inclined to think that by this time they were telling everything, or nearly everything, that he asked for. If that is so, they know of the existence, but do not know of the contents, of the elaborate Yap creation myth, one version of which was recorded by Müller. Another was collected by Lieutenant Kevin Carroll of the U.S. Naval government, but so far as known has not yet been published.

Fragments of another creation myth, which accounts for the parentage of some of the gods of Ifalik, were collected on Lamotrek by Doctor Augustin Kraemer of the Hamburg expedition. According to this, the mother of all living beings was a great reef called Oledjapdjap (probably Wolraprap in my orthography). The reef gave birth to a primal couple, Iat and Iol. (Iat as an ordinary word means 'up' or 'above.' This suggests that Iol may mean 'down' or 'below.' The usual form for that is Ilalo, with the final vowel commonly silent.) Iat and Iol were the parents of three great gods: Saulal, lord of the underworld (thought of mainly as under the sea); Sauaur, lord of Aur, the land whence breadfruit came; and Aluelap, lord of all. A footnote to Kraemer's monograph (p. 143) says that this account was also found on Elato, and adds: 'Siehe auch Ifaluk, wo Ham. arbeitete (See also Ifalik, where Ham. worked). 'Ham.' is probably Paul Hambruch,

one of the ethnographers of the German expedition. But I find no mention in the Ifalik monograph of his ever having worked there. However, if the course of events dimly suggested by some other data really took place - that is, if the early culture of Ifalik was partly overlaid by relatively recent dominance of Yap - it seems not unlikely that some such creation myth may once have been believed on Ifalik, but later discarded out of deference to the overlords from Yap. Certainly their dominance is partly, perhaps primarily, religious."

1: Burrows--171-172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik

"The chiefs admitted, even in response to my unwelcome early questions, that they knew of the existence of two of the divinities mentioned in this Lamotrek myth: Saulal and Aluelap. If Sau means 'lord,' (as it does in some western Polynesian islands), then 'Saulal' would be 'lord of the underworld,' for the depths of the sea are called ilalo (below). 'Sauaur' would then mean 'lord of the south,' for 'south' is i auru (final vowel generally silent). In song texts i auru frequently means 'the southern sky.' The name of the other divinity, Aluelap, means 'great spirit.'

The German monograph on Ifalik gives still another fragmentary account of [172] creation: 'Solal created heaven and earth by taking a grain of sand in his hand and, while reciting a spell, rolling it from one hand to the other.' "

2: Damm et al. --86 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Ifaluk

Solál created heaven and earth, by taking a grain of sand, and then rolling it from one hand to the other, while repeating a magic charm. He also created the ruler of the heavens, whose name is Äluelöb (see 2: 776) and his sister Aùdjál, the real queen of the earth.

2; Damm et al. --142 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Aurupik

The gods. Solál is the creator of the universe. He erected a tree trunk, climbed half way up, and then made the earth in the form of a disk, with all of its islands and oceans. Then he climbed farther, and at the top of the trunk he formed the heavens, which are horizontal to the earth. When he was through, he told his younger brother, Álülób, who married Nimogéi, to go up to heaven and to rule there. He himself wanted to be king of the underworld. Many people dwell in this realm, and the sun shines at night. Solál is also the god of the sea.

Álülób finally gave the rule to his son Lugēlán, who is king of the heavens at the present time. His wife is Idämälúl. Lugēlán does not work, but he keeps a constant supervision over mankind. When he sees that an island chief is not making his people talk and act in the way that they should, he sends a typhoon to destroy the island. His son Olofád is the celestial messenger; he wanders around all the time, and watches over everything; then he gives an account to his father, Lugēlán, who never leaves the heavens.

2: Damm et al.--196-197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Faraulep

The natives tell this story about the creation of the world. The original reef (olethapathăp, see Fig. 272, a) lies far below the earth; it brought forth Solăl (♂), Alüelăp (♂) and Eoitšăn (♀). Then Solăl planted a stick in the reef, and it grew very fast. Alüelăp took a little earth, and climbed up on this stick (Fig. 272, h). When he was half way up, he scattered some of the earth, and so he created the world (d), and he put his sister Eoitšăn, who is a being similar to man, over it. Then he went up to the heavens (lăn, f), and moved into the large house (fatšumal, g). He created the first inhabitants of the earth, a woman, whose name was Legobŭ, and the man Nigoburonial-tiăl. Both of them lived in the east, perhaps on Ponape, but the natives are not sure about this. At the behest of the god Alüelăp, they begat a number of boys and [197] girls, then they traveled from island to island, and in each place they left a youth and a maiden, in order that they might populate the isles. Then they went farther west, where they encountered some other (!) people. Another version tells how every human being, Kanakas as well as white men come from this first couple.

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

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"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a

native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

28: Spiro--48
116, 773, 618

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."